

# New York Tribune

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## Labor's Piece of Pie

Time was when the breakfast confession of New England was served whole, in full orbicular glory. Then it was bisected and then quartered. Next came wedges of one-sixth, and in the frenzy of war-time conservatism, when food purveyors throbbed with intense patriotism, it diminished to slivers of one-eighth. Coincidentally the diameter shrank and there was a noticeable flattening.

The Federation of Labor, proclaiming the forty-four-hour week, introduces it as forerunner to the thirty-six-hour week. At the same time it is declared that the wage, whatever it is, must be so fixed that the "earnings of labor will buy the same amount of the necessities of life that were purchased by the earnings previous to the war." But saying that a piece of pie is a piece of pie does not safeguard cubical contents.

More can be produced by eight hours of intensive labor than in fourteen or twelve or ten hours of exhaustion. But somewhere the law of diminishing return will assert itself. In one hour per day as much goods cannot be made as in eight hours. Where the line is no one is able to say; maybe the average output per man will not lessen with the forty-four-hour week; as to this experience will show. But the intelligent leaders of the Federation know as well as anybody that a falling off in production means the wages of a week, a month or a year will buy less.

Investigators have shown, if men were willing to go back to old methods of living and to restore the necessity standard of a hundred years ago, that wants could be supplied with a two-hour day. But the ordinary man, though he objects to the curse that closed Eden, prefers to work longer and get more. The luxuries of one generation are the comforts of the next and the necessities of a third. No philosopher has been able to persuade the Occidental world to lessen desires. They grow and expand. The West rejects the Buddhism which teaches that the pathway to happiness is in throttling wants.

The workman has no master in this country. He never had. He is the majority. Great is his power. But it is beyond his power to have contradictory things. He pays his own wages out of his own product. Let him diminish his product, and he lowers his wages. Not by sympathy for or against labor are its problems to be solved, but by the cold intelligence of the laboring masses.

## Barring the Intellectuals

The genuine, honest-to-goodness fire-eaters among the Socialists, with the threat of expulsion from the Socialist party still fresh upon them, wrestled with a stiff problem at their local convention. These Left Wingers were confronted by nothing less than a resolution barring all intellectuals from their organization. The proposal was on the order toward acceptance when some one remarked that the great Trotsky himself was of that class—as well as some other luminaries then and there present. We note the name of "J. Reed, New York," upon the "workingmen's" council, and suspect that right here is one mighty intellectual. So the resolution was voted down.

It is a hard problem, and if we were Left Winger we shouldn't know what to do about it. Intellectuals of the parlor brand are very pleasant decorations of any radical organization. They have pleasant houses and satisfactory refreshments, and, sometimes, large and obliging bank accounts. They lend an air of universality to a movement otherwise distressingly limited in type and appearance. Moreover, they have the wherewithal to publish magazines like *The New Republic*, presenting the idea for revolution in the most graceful and intriguing fashion.

There is, however, one fundamental double with the intellectual—the parlor intellectual, that is. He doesn't really, in his heart of hearts, mean what he says nor as the others understand it. That the sad part about the otherwise gay business of being an intellectual radical. The game holds all kinds of thrills—of mysterious thrills, that is. The intel-

lectual spends his whole time imagining red tides rolling up Fifth Avenue and explaining just why they are bound to come unless the parlor junkies (i. e., bourgeoisie) heed the advice of his leading articles. But—the tides never do come; and, if they did, he knows in his inmost soul that he would run like a rabbit for a nice, quiet country home, five miles from a crossroad.

There are occasional basement intellectuals, of the Trotsky stamp, who really revel in gore and cruelty. The parlor folk, alas! never. Sooner or later, when the threat touches their home, or their family, or their bank account, or their limousine, they crack. They fall from the ranks and sink to the rear. No wonder the genuine Left Wingers doubt them. No wonder, disgusted, they yearn to throw them out.

## Fooling the Filipinos

A high wind, proceeding out of the mouth of Senator Walsh, of Massachusetts, blew through the Senate on Wednesday. He declared that, on the initiative of this country, a Filipino delegation should be invited to appear before the peace conference to state their grievances against this country and be given sympathetic hearing as they made a plea for independence.

The value and the motive of this proposal may be judged by recalling that the conference approaches the closing days of its work and that steam is up on the George Washington. The Massachusetts Senator, for reasons he does not deign to give, is trifling with a weighty issue. He knows well that there is no likelihood, or even chance, of the Filipinos being received at Paris, and it is cruel to lure on with false hopes.

But back of the question of a hearing at Paris is the question of whether this country may settle with the Philippines. Our assumed obligations there—are they fulfilled? Practically all expert opinion is that they are not. Would the archipelago maintain a stable, democratic government?

Certain Filipinos, doubtless sincere enough personally, predict they would. But so Mexicans would say as to their country; yet Mexico is prey to chronic anarchy. Little doubt is to be entertained, in view of the present ferment, that the Philippines would quickly fall into wild disorder should America shake off her responsibility. Some integrating progress has been made, but not in twenty-five years can the Filipinos do that which has occupied free and orderly countries for a thousand years.

The inner peril is matched by an outer one. What would Japan do if her merchants were denied what they regarded as their just due? The Tribune would not foment anti-Japanese prejudice, but there stand Korea, Manchuria and Shantung. It is prudent to take note. We have thus a direct interest, for even though all political bonds were nominally cut this country would take a lively interest in the fate of its ward. Strong would be the demand here for us to go to her aid if assailed. To avoid new subject matter for dispute is prudent. Relations with our Eastern friend are delicate enough as they are. The Filipinos' claim of ability to take care of themselves against a great nation with modern arms is manifestly childish.

The Philippines are doing well. The Filipinos are prospering beyond their wildest dreams. They crowd their own schools and universities. This happy condition would be jeopardized should the American flag come down. We know this, even though there are Filipinos who do not know it, and, knowing it, we dare not let them substitute their judgment for our own.

## Making the Peace

Until memoirs are published the world will lack full information of how the peace was made. The present generation will not know, despite the shibboleths of open diplomacy. Some things seem inherently confidential.

Not merely to avoid adding to the difficulties of bargaining are matters kept back, and the motive is probably more often good than bad, a negotiator of the right sort instinctively shrinks from telling a personal, ex parte story that may be misread to the prejudice of an associate. The inhibitions of modesty tend to seal the lips.

But some things about this peace may be collected from the public record already accessible. First, the wranglings which gave alarm arose, if not from fundamental difference of political philosophy, from radical divergence of opinion as to the best methods of achieving the end sought; second, the Fourteen Points, accepted as the basis of the parley, were of such character as to invite dispute.

The end was the safeguarding of future peace. Although other issues came in, "Never again!" was the dominant watchword. But how safeguard peace? One view was that the way was to bind enemies in a mild exercise of faith; to admit every one into the new understanding without regard to record or character. Although never completely avowed, this was the idea the President seemed to take to Europe. The peace was to be one of all-of-us. This ideal met the flinty face of realities, speaking through Clemenceau and Lloyd George. They said that for all-of-us to come together was, of course, the ultimate goal, but that in the mean time it was impossible to trust Germany. The President yielded—not to his associates, but to the logic of facts and common sense.

The Fourteen Points were nominally a chart, but they were themselves uncharted. Their general phrases were capable of various interpretations. When they looked them over one can under-

stand Clemenceau and Lloyd George thinking: "There is nothing committing us against the sort of peace we deem essential."

On the other hand the Germans adopted, or pretended to adopt, a different interpretation. The argument over whether the Fourteen Points have been followed or disregarded is resolvable only after first agreeing as to what they pledged. In the end the President adopted as the true one the Franco-British interpretation rather than the German one. So doing, he was then impelled to desist, except on minor matters, from opposition.

The peace holds open the door to peace on the all-of-us principle, but it also, by disarming Germany and tracing new frontiers, secures the world against attack if Germany continues unaltered. The treaty adds practicalities to a scrap of paper. It thus contains guarantees for future peace that were in the minds of our European friends rather than those that his eulogists declared were in the mind of the President.

## Hohenzollern Reactions

Father, at Amerongen, is reported as shocked, but as returning to his log sawing. Son, at Wieringen, concluded a parole was worth no more than a scrap of paper, and made a break for Germany to head a military uprising. The old Pretender, like James Stuart, thinks that life, after all, is life, while the younger Pretender is afoot for a Culloden.

What will Germany do? The query is as profitless as similar queries in the past. Pick out what a healthy-minded nation would do, and then assume Germany will pursue a contrary course. And you will not be far amiss. Was there ever a people such as these Germans since the virus of Prussianism entered their veins?

What the Crown Prince will effect in his wild adventure remains to be seen. Not much is the probability. The German people are doubtless in sympathy with what they will call, as they do the scuttling at Scapa Flow, a fine gesture. But they don't like the expression on the face of Foch and will follow no forlorn hopes. What do those now think who have presented the German turn to republicanism as born of some other motive than safety first?

## Self-Created War Burdens

The council of three has decided to make the Germans pay for the work of their admiral at Scapa Flow. The admiral's excuse was characteristic. He said that he thought the armistice would expire on Saturday, June 21, because of Germany's refusal to accept the peace terms. He therefore assumed, without any warrant, that it had expired and that the ships had again become German property. But the armistice had been extended till 7 p. m. on June 28. All Von Reuter needed was the ghost of an excuse for carrying out a general order given at the beginning of the war by the imperial government.

Now the Germans will have to pay twice over for the part of Tirpitz's surface fleet represented at Scapa. German psychology is such that German commanders never realized that when they were devastating Belgium and northern France they were doing so at their own cost, and that destruction of a non-military character in the occupied regions was as wasteful as would have been destruction of the same sort within Germany's boundaries.

Von Reuter was also a victim of this mania for running amuck. He thought he was sinking ships which Germany no longer needed—that he was merely wiping the slate of a bad investment. What he was really doing was relieving the Allies of captured property which they could not dispose of without embarrassment and creating a new debt for Germany to settle by the delivery of money or commodities.

Germany claims that she hasn't the means to pay her existing debts. But she doesn't shrink from piling up new obligations. The senseless sinking of the Scapa Flow fleet ought not to escape penalization in the final estimate of Germany's self-created indemnity burden.

## A Contradiction

The two arguments most commonly made for a ratification of the peace treaty without reservations affecting the covenant involve a contradiction. It is said that the United States ought to approve without modifications because such modifications may not be readily assented to by European nations. But it is urged at the same time that only a league of nations, with the United States a member of it, can save Europe from ruin.

The first argument clashes with the second. If the league of nations is an indispensable instrument for the salvation of the world—or even of the European world—the European nations will be only too glad to have this country enter it on its own terms. If we are a guarantor and the countries of Europe are beneficiaries, they can have no reasonable objection to modifications of the contract for the purpose of protecting American interests. We are giving more than we receive.

To represent other nations as unwilling to permit us to construe the covenant our own way, by means of necessary reservations, is to impute to them a strange lack of perspicacity and self-interest.

The fact that \$75,000 worth of attar of roses arrived here in a suitcase arouses no amazement in the person who knows what a small package a dozen eggs makes.

# Pogroms and Plunder

By Maxim Gorky

Translated from his paper in Petrograd

THE "Pravda" (Truth) writes: "Gorky has begun speaking in the language of the enemies of the working class."

It is not true. I address myself to saner representatives of the working classes and state.

Fanatics and light-minded visionaries have aroused in the working class hopes which under the given historical conditions cannot be fulfilled and are leading on the Russian proletariat to destruction. The destruction of the proletariat, however, is sure to bring Russia face to face with a prolonged period of black reaction.

Again one reads in the "Pravda": "Every revolution includes in its process of development certain negative phenomena which are unavoidable and are due to the breaking up of a thousand-year-old state. The young giant creates a new life and his muscular arms naturally touch the well-being of outsiders. The Philistines, however, whom Gorky once upon a time was wont to chastise, now raise the cry that the Russian state and Russian culture are being ruined."

I cannot consider such matters as the plundering of national property in the Winter Palace, in the castles at Gatchina and other places, as "unavoidable." I do not see what connection there is between the "breaking up of a thousand-year-old state" with the robbery of a small theatre in Moscow or the stealing of the wardrobe of the actress Yermolova.

I have no intention to enumerate here the various samples of senseless pogroms and robberies. I merely contend that the responsibility for these deeds committed by rowdies falls upon the proletariat, which quite obviously has not the power to eradicate this rowdism from its midst.

Moreover, "the young giant who is creating a new life" makes it very difficult to supply the public with books. There are printeries where the printers produce only 38 per cent of even that sort of work which the union of book-

printers has set down as the standard for apprentices.

The proletariat, which is but a small group in the midst of the uneducated Russian peasantry of 100,000,000, ought to know how important education is and how important it is to spread books. But, to its own misfortune, the proletariat does not care to see this.

The proletariat also must realize that it is sitting on bayonets, and bayonets, as is well known, make a rather shaky throne.

Yes, there are plenty of negative phenomena, but where are the positive ones? Of such there are none to be seen, if one does not count the decrees of Lenin and Trotsky. I doubt, however, whether the proletariat had any part in the creation of these decrees. No, if the proletariat had a part in this paper activity it would look quite different.

The article in the "Pravda" concludes with the following lyrical outpouring:

"When at the radiant feast of the nations the former enemies, inspired by the feeling of brotherly love, will seek a place in our armies, will Gorky, who so heedlessly deserted the ranks of the genuinely revolutionary democracy, still be able to be a welcome guest at this feast of peace?"

Neither the writer of the article in the "Pravda" nor I will live to see this radiant feast. Decades of sober and persevering cultural work will have to pass before such a feast will be possible. But at the feast where the despotism of the uneducated mass celebrates an easy victory, while humanity is kept in chains as before—at such a feast I have nothing to look for. For me it is no feast at all.

In whatever hands power rests there still remains for me the elementary human right of taking a critical view of this power.

But I am especially mistrustful when I see the Russian at the rudder, the slave of yesterday turned into merciless despot the moment he has the power to be master over the next one.

swayed more by passion and emotion than by reason, and, therefore, we must choose leaders who can smooth out jealousies, rouse noble impulses and maintain honor and national security without resorting to arms, except as a last resort. We cannot but acknowledge that the costliness of this war in human life compelled the leading nations of the world to substitute arbitration for armed force and to put a limitation on the right to go to war. Everywhere the peoples of the world are now awake to the realization that peace in the world can only be secured by high ideals and mutual self-sacrifice of pride, ambition and national aspirations. We are facing a new era in the evolution of mankind, and having assumed a leading role in the struggle for self-preservation let us hold it to, fully conscious of our power and determined that the conflict shall be carried on the high plane of idealism. Let us construct and maintain these large national cemeteries, lest we forget, and that our sacred dead may not have died in vain.

HEMAN L. DOWD,  
Captain, M. C. U. S. A.  
Camp Covington, Marseilles, France, June 1.

## Unionized Teachers

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: It may be of interest to your readers to know that the union movement among teachers has met with very surprising success during the last few months. Only a short time ago a teachers' union was regarded as something very undignified, and most teachers and the so-called public looked upon a teachers' union with undisguised hostility. The march of events, the press of economic conditions, has wiped out to a very great extent the opposition existing among teachers toward the union movement.

The American Federation of Teachers was organized in Chicago, in 1916. In September, 1918, there were twenty locals in the federation, with a total membership of about 3,000. During the past ten months the number of locals has increased to ninety-three, and the total membership is more than 10,000, an increase of about 700 new members a month for the last ten months. The officials of the federation are confident that when school reopens in the fall there will be at least 15,000 members in the federation. Before the week is over practically all the men teachers in the elementary schools will have joined the union movement, that is, if no objection is raised to the formation of a separate local for the elementary school men.

This steady growth, be it noted, has come in spite of persistent opposition of autocratic educational authorities. Fearful of the slogan of the teachers' union, Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy, in spite of loose charges of disloyalty and false misrepresentation. The union movement is succeeding because it stands for certain ideals, in addition to safeguarding the economic conditions of the teacher. The American Federation of Teachers holds that the schools of a democracy must be governed and managed in a democratic manner; therefore, teachers must be allowed representation on boards of education and on school councils; they should have a voice in shaping courses of study; they should be represented on teachers' trial boards; they should be consulted in all matters that are connected with the welfare of the schools. Teachers must be treated as if they are partners in the great work of education, not as inferior subordinates.

JOSEPH JABLONOWER,  
Organizer, Teachers' Union of New York.  
New York, June 16, 1919.

## Unexpended Belligerency

(From The Baltimore American)

Our problem now is how to divert the unexpended belligerency of the returned soldiers.

## Books

By Heywood Brown

"I ZZIE gonna teachie itty cutums English or not?" asks Prudence Brandish in effect in her book "Mother Love in Action" (Harper), and proceeds to protest vigorously against the practice of bringing up children on baby talk. It is true that parents deserve part of the blame, but babies ought to be made to realize that some of the responsibility is theirs. Often they talk the jargon themselves without any encouragement whatever. Indeed, they have been known to cling